

BEIJING REVIEW

- Visiting Places of Revolutionary Significance



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COVER: (Left) The National Institute of the Peasant Movement founded by the Chinese Communist Party in Guangzhou in May 1926. (Right) The veteran worker who took part in the 1923 February 7 Strike is telling the Young Pioneers about the revolutionary struggle against the reactionaries.

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CHRONICLE

August 14

• Premier Hua Guofeng met with Sri Lanka Prime Minister Ranasinghe Premadasa. They exchanged views in a friendly and sincere atmosphere on further developing bilateral relations and some other issues.

• Xinhua News Agency reports that the State Council has issued a circular on regulations for standardization.

The circular said that standardization is an important component of organizing modern production and essential to scientific management. It calls for strict implementation by every department in charge of production, capital construction, scientific research, designing and management, as well as every enterprise and government unit.

August 16

• Chairman Hua Guofeng, Vice-Chairmen Ye Jianying, Deng Xiaoping and Li Xiannian of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and other Party and state leaders received representatives of artisans, craftsmen and designers attending the national arts and crafts conference.

• Chinese Ambassador to Lebanon Xu Wenyi conveyed to Prime Minister Selim Hoss Premier Hua's congratulations on his continuing in office as Prime Minister.

August 17

• The Delegation of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Malta led by Speaker Calcidon Agius arrived in Beijing on a friendship visit to China. Ye Jianying, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, met Speaker Calcidon Agius and other members of the delegation the next day.

August 19

• Vice-Chairman Li Xiannian of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China met the Delegation of the Party of the All People's Congress of Sierra Leone led by E.T. Kamara, Member of the Political Bureau and Assistant Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the Party.

Vice-Chairman Li told the delegation about the experience the Chinese Communist Party had gained in its struggle over the last decades.

Vice-Chairman Li and Assistant Secretary-General Kamara also exchanged views on current international issues of common concern.



Sri Lanka Prime Minister Visits China

Ranasinghe Premadasa, Prime Minister of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, and Mrs. Premadasa paid a friendship visit to China from August 13 to 20.

Premier Hua Guofeng greeted Prime Minister Premadasa and his party at the airport, and met and had a talk with the Prime Minister on the afternoon of August 14.

In his speech at the farewell banquet he gave on August 15, Prime Minister Premadasa said that during his talks with the Chinese leaders, both sides shared similar views on many international issues. He noted that the co-operation extended by China to Sri Lanka symbolizes the abiding trust and faith the two countries have for each

other in building stronger links over and above those that already exist. Vice-Premier Li Xiannian said in his speech that "during the last three days, we have a full exchange of views on our bilateral relations and international issues of common concern, thus enhancing our mutual understanding." Prime Minister Premadasa's visit to China, he added, has contributed to the strengthening of the ties of friendship between the people of China and Sri Lanka and promoted the development of amicable relations and co-operation between the two countries.

There exists a profound friendship between the people of the two countries, forged through centuries of amicable contacts and subsequently strengthened by mutual sympathy and support in the long years of struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism. In

the difficult days when the imperialists enforced an economic embargo on China after the founding of the People's Republic, the Sri Lanka Government gave China invaluable support in the form of the agreement to barter rice for rubber. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations, the leaders of the two countries have visited each other's country on many occasions. The late Premier Zhou Enlai twice visited Sri Lanka.

Speaking at the banquet in honour of Prime Minister Premadasa, Vice-Premier Li Xiannian paid tribute to the friendship between the two countries. He said: "We are glad that our friendly relations and co-operation have developed further in the last couple of years." He praised the people of Sri Lanka for their successes in defending their national dignity, upholding the unity of the country and



Premier Hua Guofeng welcomes Prime Minister and Mrs. Premadasa at Beijing Airport.

developing the national economy. He noted that Sri Lanka, as the current Chairman of the Non-Aligned Summit Conference, has made positive contributions to upholding the principles and orientation of the non-aligned movement.

In reply, Prime Minister Premadasa said that there exist between the people of China and Sri Lanka a binding friendship and close ties. The trade agreement signed between the two countries 27 years ago, he added, was based on the principles of mutual help and mutual benefit, and within the framework of this agreement, co-operation in many other fields had blossomed.

"In international affairs," Prime Minister Premadasa said, "China has helped us by the support it has extended to the non-aligned movement and the sustained support it has given to the policies on which the non-aligned movement is based. This support has been a great source of strength to us. We in Sri Lanka firmly believe that a strong China is a necessary stabilizing force in Asia."

Talks were held between Vice-Premier Li Xiannian and Prime Minister Premadasa and a cultural co-operation agreement was signed on August 15.

Strengthening Party Discipline

The Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline under the Party Central Committee held its first national working conference in Beijing last July. Reviewing its work in the seven months since the commission was set up, the con-

ference affirmed the guiding principles previously defined for its work. During this period, the conference noted, the discipline inspection organizations set up by the Party committees at various levels had made notable achievements, having handled a number of cases and accumulated experience in this respect.

The conference decided that a series of Party rules and regulations should be speedily worked out. These include guidelines for inner-Party political life, standards of living conditions for leading cadres, and specific rules for the implementation of democratic centralism. The conference stressed the need to earnestly carry out inspections of the observance of discipline and law by the Party organizations at various levels and Party members and issue circulars concerning the correction or prevention of questionable phenomena within the Party.

Speaking at the conference Hu Yaobang, third secretary of the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline, said that the Chinese Communist Party is now leading the people of the whole country in working for the four modernizations and building China into a powerful socialist country. This, he said, is a political programme of far-reaching significance. That our Party should have a fine working style will have a great bearing on its success. After the overthrow of the gang of four, the fine working style of our Party—seeking truth from facts, integrating theory with practice, practising criticism and self-criticism and keeping close ties with the

masses—has been revived and developed to varying degrees. Unity has been considerably strengthened and the Party's prestige greatly enhanced. Among some cadres, however, there are still such questions as privilege-seeking, factionalism, bureaucracy, and low efficiency in work, which should arouse serious attention and be dealt with conscientiously. To this end Yu Yaobang proposed the following:

(1) Party members and cadres in particular should be educated to resolutely carry out and uphold the line, guiding principles and policies formulated by the Party Central Committee for the new period so as to ensure the unity of the Party politically and ideologically.

(2) Resolute steps must be taken to overcome factionalism so as to safeguard the unity of the Party on the basis of Marxist principles.

(3) Democratic centralism should be strictly enforced in all matters, and no individual is allowed to make decisions arbitrarily by himself. Ultra-democratic practices or anarchism is strictly forbidden.

(4) Great efforts should be made to overcome the bad style of keeping aloof from the masses; the Party's fine style of maintaining close ties with the masses should be carried forward.

(5) Uphold the principles of unity-criticism-unity and taking warning from past mistakes so as to avoid future ones and curing the illness so as to save the patient.

(6) The Party's cadre system should be improved step by

step, and systems concerning the election, examination, checking, supervision, awarding and punishing, recalling, rotation and retirement of cadres should be gradually introduced.

Before the Cultural Revolution started in 1966, there was under the Party Central Committee a Central Control Commission, whose task was to safeguard Party discipline and make inspections on and handle cases involving violations of discipline and law by Party members. Owing to the sabotage of Lin Biao and the gang of four, this commission had to suspend its work.

With a view to upholding the rules and regulations of the Party and improving the Party's working style, the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Party decided towards the end of last year to set up the Central Commission for Inspecting Discipline.

Faithfulness to Facts in Party History Research

The July issue of the monthly *Lishi Yanjiu* (Historical Studies) carried a commentary which raised an important question: What attitude should researchers into the history of the Chinese Communist Party adopt? *Renmin Ribao* recently reprinted this article.

While condemning Lin Biao and the gang of four for tampering with historical facts, the article also criticized some comrades who, though sincere in their intentions, are too opinionated and fail to treat historical facts objectively.

Thus they sometimes make errors or create confusion.

Basis for Study. The commentary said that while fidelity to facts isn't all there is to historical investigation, it is the basis for this work. Only by grasping the accurate facts can one have a basis for making a scientific analysis and bringing to light the inherent laws of history. "A correct conclusion cannot be drawn if the historical facts themselves are wrong."

The commentary cited some examples showing how Lin Biao and the gang of four distorted historical facts for their own purposes. For instance, they substituted the name of Lin Biao for that of Zhu De when describing the joining of revolutionary armed forces led by Mao Zedong and Zhu De on the Jinggang Mountains. They said they could write what they liked, insisting that history after all was "70 per cent facts and 30 per cent falsehood" and that people writing history could "reasonably make imaginary assumptions."

It also cited examples of failure to respect historical facts on the part of some comrades. For instance, twelve (some sources say thirteen) persons took part in the First Party Congress, but fewer than half of the names are listed in many writings. Comrade Zhang Wentian was General Secretary of the Party following the historic Zunyi Meeting in 1935, but no mention of this is made.

The commentary attributed this to the writers' desire to depict the Party in a good light. They held that the Chinese Communist Party is a great, glorious and correct Party, so shady and negative



happenings must be kept out of Party history so as not to dim its lustre. It follows that Party leaders and other revolutionaries should be described as always and absolutely correct or completely bad so as to make the positive or negative sides stand out more prominently.

Dialectical Point of View. The commentary pointed out: It is true that the Chinese Communist Party is great; however, "its greatness emerges not in the absence of dark or negative aspects but through its ability to conquer these aspects and strengthen itself in the process."

It continued: "It is wrong to evade the fact that bad persons, bad things, shortcomings and errors did occur within our Party. It is even worse to ascribe all achievements and merits to those persons who are positively evaluated and all shortcomings and errors to those who are negatively evaluated. This is typical of the metaphysical approach which denies contradictions, denies struggle, denies that things develop and are mutable, and considers that what is good is all good and what is bad is all bad." To revise the history of the Party with this approach "will only result in writing a Party history not true to the

facts and introducing all sorts of contradictions in the texts. This cannot in any way reflect the true situation of our Party."

The commentary concluded: "Comrade Zhou Enlai once said: 'Only by being faithful to facts can one be faithful to truth.' This should be our motto for research into Party history."

Construction Company Founded in Shanghai

A construction company was founded recently in Shanghai. Called the Aiguo company (*aiguo* meaning patriotic), it was set up by former capitalists wishing to play their part in modernizing the country. With a capital of more than 40 million yuan at present, the company is looking for people with special skills and expertise in management.

The company plans to build a number of multi-storeyed apartment houses to be sold to compatriots in Xianggang (Hongkong) and Aomen (Macao) and overseas Chinese or their relatives in Shanghai, as well as to the city's former capitalists who have housing problems.

As a socialist enterprise, the company aims at serving the four modernizations and will undertake a number of projects beneficial to socialist construction. The rate of interest for the investors will be the same as that set by the People's Bank of China. Part of the profits will be paid as taxes, while the rest will be used as collective funds for the country's socialist construction.

In implementing the Party's policy towards the capitalists, the state has since the end of last year returned all their bank savings and property confiscated during the Cultural Revolution, restored their wages and paid back the deducted wages and the fixed interest due to them prior to September 1966. Many of the industrialists and businessmen benefiting from this measure have expressed willingness to use their idle money in the cause of socialist modernization. In view of this, the Democratic National Construction Association and the Federation of Industry and Commerce in Shanghai jointly sponsored the founding of the company. To date, more than 600 people have made investments in it.

Under China's specific conditions, the capitalist class has a dual character during the period of socialist revolution: exploitation of the working class for profit on the one hand and support for the Constitution and willingness to accept socialist transformation on the other. The contradiction between the Chinese working class and the national bourgeoisie therefore comes under the category of contradictions among the people. From 1955 the state adopted the policy of redemption towards the capitalists. Their means of production were not expropriated, and their enterprises were first turned into jointly-owned enterprises and later into state-owned enterprises. Interest was paid to their assets within a specified period at a fixed rate. Through labour the capitalists gradually became working people earning their own living. Since the fixed interest

was of an exploiting nature, the state decided to stop paying it as from September 1966.

Facts have shown that the Party's policy of transforming the capitalist class has been successful. The socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce was completed smoothly without any damage to production. Now most of the members of the capitalist class have been transformed into working people earning their own living. As Premier Hua Guofeng declared at the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress this summer, capitalists no longer exist in China as a class.

A Suggestion: Priority To Animal Husbandry

China should gradually shift from taking grain as the key link to putting animal husbandry first in developing its agriculture. It should vigorously develop the dairy industry, and raise more pigs, beef cattle and poultry. This will speed up the modernization of agriculture.

This bold suggestion was put forward in an article by Liu Zhenbang of the Research Institute of World Economy under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. The article appeared in the special column "Discussion on Agricultural Guidelines" started recently in *Renmin Ribao*. Views and suggestions of many other economists and agronomists on the modernization of China's agriculture have also appeared in the column.

Liu's article raised some interesting points:

— China has only a small area of arable land in comparison with its population. But it has

whatever experiences that are useful.

Besides Liu Zhenbang, other economists and agronomists have written articles pointing out the necessity of giving priority to animal husbandry.

Summer Vacation

Since mid-July students and teachers in China have been enjoying a happy summer vacation which will extend to the end of August. Many have camped in famous summer resorts and scenic spots in various parts of the country.

• On August 5, more than 800 students of over 30 nationalities from all over the country attended in Qingdao the opening ceremony of the physical culture summer camp for primary and middle school students as well as the sea navigation summer camp for middle school students of 11 coastal provinces, cities and an autonomous region. For the former camp,



Sheep grazing by a river in the Hulun Buir League in Inner Mongolia. The herdsmen overcame snowstorms and severe cold last winter to achieve a big expansion in livestock breeding, bringing the total number of animals there to 3.25 million head.

large expanses of grassland, forests and bare hills which can be opened up for livestock breeding. While cultivated land totals only 1,500 million *mu* (15 *mu* equals one hectare), there are 4,300 million *mu* of grassland, an indication of the great potential for developing animal husbandry. The question here is that in the past these pasturelands were not made good use of; instead, part of the grassland was opened up and some forests were levelled for growing crops. This proved unsuccessful and upset the ecological equilibrium in some areas.

—Some comrades hold that at present China's agricultural production is low, as is the average grain output per capita. So it is meaningless to talk about giving priority to animal husbandry. Actually when some Western countries turned from giving first place to grain cultivation to livestock breeding instead, their per capita grain output was about the same as ours now.

—The Chinese people should change their habit of eating mainly rice and steamed bread. The average annual consumption of grain of each person is 200 kilogrammes, which is 3 to 4 times that in Western countries, while our average consumption of animal protein is much less. China should study the diet of the people in the developed countries and adopt



Beijing students summer camping at the seaside resort of Beidaihe take a dip in the sea.



Teachers from Shanghai spending their summer vacation at the famous Mogan Mountain resort.

Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Soong Ching Ling wrote its name on a scroll, President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences Fang Yi wrote an inscription for it, and Chairman of the National Women's Federation Kang Keqing sent it a congratulatory letter.

- At the foot of the Baiyu Mountain in northeast China's Lushun, 289 young teachers took part in the summer camp for instructors of Young Pioneers, the first ever since the founding of the People's Republic. Han Ying, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Youth League, called on them to strive to become proficient in bringing up the Young Pioneers.

- Over 180 youngsters from east China and Beijing have spent their time at a biology summer camp at the foot of the Xianfeng Ridge of the Wuyi Mountains in Fujian Province. Their chief task has been to make extensive investigations of rare birds and animals, in-

sects and butterflies, trees and flowers in this natural reserve. They have carried out their activities under the guidance of noted entomologists and biologists. The young holiday-makers have enjoyed the beautiful scenery around them, the limpid meandering streams and rainbow-like waterfalls.

Students in Beijing have taken part in summer camps devoted to scientific activities in astronomy, geology, and military sports, while those in Shanghai have joined summer camps for activities in electronics, astronomy and other branches of science and technology.

Other activities such as concerts, fine art exhibitions, dancing classes, lectures on science and technology, and physical culture and sports have been sponsored by children's palaces, children's recreation centres, factories and neighbourhood committees in Beijing, Tianjin and Shanghai for students who have stayed at home during the vacation. The cinemas have ar-

anged special shows for them. In many places good books have been recommended to the students, and meetings with writers have been arranged for them.

Prior to the Cultural Revolution, education departments and trade unions of educational workers used to sponsor summer vacation activities for the teachers. But these were suspended for more than ten years owing to the sabotage of Lin Biao and the gang of four. This summer, arrangements have again been made for outstanding teachers and professors and scientific research workers who have made important contributions to spend their holidays in scenic spots, where they can relax or swap experience. In some cities the teachers have had the opportunity to attend forums on special subjects, concerts and other entertainments or to visit factories and rural people's communes. More than 2,300 college professors and middle and primary school teachers have gone on a sight-seeing tour of Wuxi, Hangzhou, Qingdao and Lushan and other places, with most of the expenses covered by the state.



Visiting Places of Revolutionary Significance (I)

by Our Correspondents

Qin Yun and Dai Wei

Thirty years ago, on October 1, Chairman Mao Zedong hoisted the first five-starred red flag of the People's Republic of China at Tian An Men and announced to the world: "The Chinese people have stood up." There are many places of revolutionary historical significance elsewhere in China like Tian An Men, and most of them are now open to visitors at home and from abroad. Recently, correspondents of "Beijing Review" visited some of these places closely connected with major historical episodes which occurred in the 28 years between the founding of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921 and the birth of the People's Republic of China in 1949. This series of their tour will appear in four instalments.

Shanghai: The Party's Birthplace

FROM Beijing we went south 1,462 kilometres by train and arrived in Shanghai, the biggest industrial city in China. No. 108 Wang Zhi Road (now 76 Xing Ye Rd.) is a solemn two-storeyed building inside the city with grey walls, black lacquered doors and shiny brass knockers. This was where the Chinese Communist Party was established—the site of its First National Congress.

It is now a revolutionary memorial museum. The First Party Congress' meeting place has been restored and the rooms in the rear now house an exhibition on the founding of the Party.

Rise of the Workers' Movement

Photos and memorabilia in the exhibition rooms give one a general idea of conditions of the Chinese proletariat before the founding of the Party.

When the Revolution of 1911 overthrew the feudal monarchy, China already had some 650,000 industrial workers. The number jumped to nearly 2 million during World War I (1914-

18) when the imperialists of the West were too preoccupied with their war to make further aggressive inroads into China and its national industry was able to develop more rapidly. But in semi-colonial, semi-feudal China, the proletariat was subjected to a threefold oppression — by imperialism, feudalism and the bourgeoisie. This oppression which was more brutal and harsh than in many other parts of the world spurred the rise of the Chinese workers' movement.

In early 1919, the victors of World War I called a peace conference in Paris and China attended as a victor nation. However, the conference, manipulated by a number of imperialist powers, actually decided that Japan was to take over from Germany the latter's various prerogatives in China's Shandong Province. (The imperialist-orientated warlord government in Bei-





No. 108 Wang Zhi Road in Shanghai where the Chinese Communist Party held its First National Congress.

ing was about to agree to the decision.) When the news reached China, there was a tremendous uproar throughout the country. On May 4, students of Beijing held parades and demonstrations to voice their objection. Then the working class in Shanghai joined the struggle. People of various social strata in over 100 cities rose in response. The backbone of this massive movement was the workers, and in history this explosion of popular indignation became known as the May 4th Movement.

In the exhibition rooms are handbills, cartoons and photos, including large portraits of Li Dazhao (Li Ta-chao), the main leader of the May 4th Movement and the pioneer in dissemi-



The boat on Jiaxing's Nanhu Lake where the Party continued its First National Congress in July 1921.

nating Marxism-Leninism in China (killed in 1927), Mao Zedong, one of the organizers and leaders of the revolutionary activities in Hunan Province, and Zhou Enlai, a leader of the revolutionary activities in Tianjin. There are also copies of periodicals and pamphlets these and other comrades had sponsored and published in various parts of the country. The Chinese proletariat came to accept Marxism-Leninism which some intellectuals with rudimentary communist ideas introduced into the country. These were among the earliest to be influenced by the October Revolution in Russia. The May 4th Movement helped the revolutionary intellectuals realize the formidable strength of the working class and made them see the necessity of integrating Marxism-Leninism with the workers' movement and intellectuals with the workers.

Dissemination of Marxism-Leninism

The collection of historical materials in the exhibition rooms tells how in May 1920, Chen Duxiu (Chen Tu-hsiu) and others first set up a communist group in Shanghai to found the Chinese Communist Party. Similar organizations were later founded by Li Dazhao in Beijing, Mao Zedong in Changsha, Dong Biwu (who became a Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and died in 1975) and Chen Tanqiu (killed in 1943) in Hankou and others in Jinan, Guangzhou and other places.

On display is a Chinese translation of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* published in April 1920, a Chinese translation of Lenin's *The State and Revolution* which appeared in the 1921 May issue of *The Communist Party*, a monthly published in Shanghai. There are also publications of the Xinmin Society, Wenhua Bookstore, and the Hunan Socialist Youth League organized by Mao Zedong in Changsha to disseminate Marxism-Leninism, as well as periodicals published by communist groups in Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou. *Xin Qingnian* (New Youth), which played a guiding ideological role in the new cultural movement and the May 4th Movement, was made the organ of the communist group in Shanghai. Many of these periodicals spread Marxism-Leninism as they criticized various anti-Marxist ideas.

The contents in the exhibition rooms reflect the great debate which broke out after 1920 between Marxism-Leninism and bourgeois reformism. Comrades Cai Hesen (killed in 1931)

and Mao Zedong and other Marxist-Leninists advocated the founding of a proletarian revolutionary party after the pattern of the Russian Bolsheviks and opposed the erroneous ideas that were against this. Statements made by Mao Zedong and other comrades representing the correct orientation of founding the Party are given great prominence at the exhibition.

First Party Congress

On July 1, 1921, representatives from the communist groups in various parts of the country met in Shanghai to convene the First National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. The congress was held in a 18 sq. m. lounge of a house belonging to a relative of one of the representatives from Shanghai. The room is austere furnished, with an oblong table in the middle and a dozen or so round stools about the table. The electric light hanging from the ceiling, the old-fashioned ash trays, match boxes, porcelain teapot and cups on display are reproductions.

The congress was a clandestine one, taking place in a house inside what was then the French Concession. When it was in session, a stranger suddenly intruded into the room from the back door. He was an agent of the French police. He pretended to be looking for someone with a name he had apparently invented himself. He withdrew hastily with the excuse that he had come to the wrong place.

The representatives sensed that the congress had already caught the attention of the ruling authorities. The meeting was immediately suspended and the participants dispersed at once. About ten minutes later, police and detectives of the French Concession raided and searched the just-vacated premises. The congress was successfully continued aboard a boat on Nanhu Lake in Jiaxing, Zhejiang Province, southwest of Shanghai.

Altogether 12 representatives (another source says 13) attended the congress. In the museum are the photos of Comrades Mao Zedong, Dong Biwu, Chen Tanqiu, He Shuheng (killed in 1935), Wang Jinmei (died of illness in 1925) and Deng Enming (killed in 1931). Among the representatives were also Li Da (who passed away in 1966) and Li Hanjun (killed in 1927). They also included Zhou Fuhai, Chen

* Chen Duxiu who was not at the congress was elected General Secretary because he was one of the pioneers of the Party and in recognition of his influence in the May 4th Movement.

Gongbo, Zhang Guotao and Liu Renjing who later betrayed the revolution.

The congress adopted a Party programme, brought forward the question of carrying out a proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, adopted a resolution to concentrate providing Party leadership to the workers' movement, elected the organ of the Party Central Committee* and formally founded the Chinese Communist Party.

Zhengzhou and the February 7 Strike

AFTER its founding the Chinese Communist Party paid great attention to leading the workers' movement. There was a country-wide upsurge in the workers' movement between early 1922 and February 1923, culminating in the big February 7, 1923 strike.

It started in Zhengzhou, swept Hankou, Beijing and other places up and down the Beijing-Hankou railway line.

In the heart of Zhengzhou, the provincial capital of Henan in central China, stands an elegant 14-storeyed, 63-metre-high edifice of twin towers. The exhibition commemorating the big February 7 strike is housed in the tower. The documents, photos, charts and other material preserved on the various floors brought back to us the darkness and the misery of old China.

Adversities

The Beijing-Hankou Railway was built by the Qing government with foreign loans made under humiliating terms that betrayed China's sovereign rights. It was started in 1898 and was opened to traffic in 1906.

After the Revolution of 1911, a tangled warfare among feudal warlords emerged, each backed by an imperialist power who was using them as its instruments of aggression against China and to partition the country. Wu Peifu, the warlord who had the backing of imperialist Britain, at that time was in control of the railway. He made the railway workers move troops and provisions to fuel the civil wars and he also stole the revenue from the railway to fight other warlords. The railway workers had to work more than ten hours a day, and seven days a week. In one of the exhibition rooms we saw a woven cane basket used by workers to carry an average of 12 tons of coal per man per day. There was no labour protection in whatever



The badge worn by members of the General Union of the Beijing-Hankou Railway.

form, nor medical care. If a man fell sick or had an accident, then he received nothing.

The political oppression they suffered was monstrous. A statistical chart on display showed that in 1921, there were 102 officers and 2,617 men in the railway police force, about 10 per cent on the entire railway payroll. (At the February 7 Revolutionary Museum in

Wuhan, we saw rusty, blood-stained fetters, handcuffs, clubs and thin steel rods once used to keep the workers down.) There are also photos of draughty hovels where the workers lived, ragged clothing and worn-out bedding which had seen decades of use, and indentures of workers' children sold.

The Storm

Comrade Mao Zedong twice made social investigations in Beijing's Changxindian Locomotive Works belonging to the Beijing-Hankou Railway and disseminated Marxism-Leninism among the workers there. In early 1921, Comrade Li Dazhao, who was in charge of the communist group in Beijing, founded a workers' school in the works. In May the same year, the Changxindian Railway Workers' Union, the first on the railway, was formed. Soon afterwards, another 15 unions on the line were set up. Thanks to Party leadership, strikes occurred one after another in various forms and they grew in scale and influence.

The Preparatory Committee of the General Union of Beijing-Hankou Railway Workers then decided to call a meeting for

the inauguration of the union in Zhengzhou on February 1, 1923. The reactionary rulers were alarmed and Wu Peifu hastily instructed the military and the police force in Zhengzhou to keep a close watch on the situation and suppress it by force if necessary. He also tried to buy over the leaders of the workers' movement. But the Preparatory Committee stood firm and went ahead to hold the meeting.

On the morning of February 1, representatives of workers of the Beijing-Hankou railway line and those invited to the meeting, more than 300 strong, assembled in Zhengzhou to celebrate the founding of the General Union. The city authorities declared a state of emergency, sent out armed soldiers and policemen to patrol the streets and forcibly stopped some leaders of the workers' movement from attending. The representatives, however, were undaunted. To the sound of band music and exploding fire-crackers the General Union of Beijing-Hankou Railway was born. We saw the inscriptions "The Sanctity of Labour" and "The Red Flame Burns Brightly" on tablets presented by trade unions and organizations from other parts of the country, as well as red flags, silk banners and huge streamers with slogans. They gave some idea of the magnitude of the meeting.

After the meeting, the feudal warlord sent men down to occupy and ransack the headquarters of the General Union, taking away documents, money and property, and expelling the representatives and their guests from the city. The General Union decided to pull all members off the whole line on February 4. It put forward a clearly defined slogan: "Fight for liberty and human rights!"

On February 4, at nine o'clock in the morning, railway workers in Zhengzhou sounded the siren signalling the beginning of the big strike. Within three hours, trains on the whole line stopped running. The whole 1,200-kilometre Beijing-Hankou Railway was paralysed.

On February 7, Wu Peifu, the feudal warlord, and others, instigated by the imperialist countries, gave orders to start slaughtering the railway workers in cold blood. The unarmed workers fought back. About 50 of them were killed and several hundreds were wounded. Lin Xiangqian, a member of the Communist Party and one of the leaders of the strike, was bound to a lamp post outside the Jiangan Railway Station in Hankou and stabbed once, twice, thrice . . . seven times by the enemy to force him to order the strikers to go back to work.



The siren which signalled the Zhengzhou workers' February 7 big strike.



A workers' contingent which took part in the third armed uprising in Shanghai.

Streaming with blood, Lin replied: "Heads may roll, blood may flow, but the strike goes on!" He was finally killed by the enemy. Shi Yang, a member of the Communist Party and legal adviser to the General Union of the Beijing-Hankou Railway Workers, was also arrested and later murdered in Wuchang.

After the February 7 massacre, the Party Central Committee issued a message calling on the working class and people of the whole country to arise and overthrow Wu Peifu the warlord. People staged strikes in all parts of the country, paraded and sent donations to show their solidarity. The working class abroad, too, showed their sympathy and support.

Subterranean Fire

The February 7 Strike was bloodily suppressed. The workers' movement ebbed temporarily. But the revolutionary flame burned fiercely underground.

In May 1925, owners of a Japanese textile mill in Shanghai opened fire and killed a Party member and worker named Gu Zhenghong during a strike and wounded a dozen other workers. The masses became infuriated. A mammoth anti-imperialist demonstration erupted. On May 30, the British police also opened fire and killed scores of people. This came to be known as the infamous "May 30 Massacre." The whole country was enraged. A big strike of 200,000 workers in Shanghai broke out and an anti-imperialist tidal wave swept the country. Among the bigger strikes were the one in Guangzhou and Xianggang involving a quarter million people and lasting 16 months.

Between October 1926 and March 1927, Shanghai workers staged three uprisings. The

first two failed, but in the third one, led by Comrades Zhou Enlai, Lo Yinong (killed in 1928) and Zhao Shiyan (killed in 1927) and preceded by a strike with 800,000 workers taking part in March 1927, the workers succeeded in liberating Shanghai for a while after two days and a night of bitter fighting.

National Institute of Peasant Movement In Guangzhou

IN Zhongshan Road in the south China city of Guangzhou is an old building with a stone arch and inside the red-lacquered gate is a courtyard with a lawn and big, tall trees. This was the National Institute of the Peasant Movement set up by Comrade Mao Zedong some 50 years ago. The building is still in fairly good shape.

The Chinese Communist Party began its co-operation with the Kuomintang led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in January 1924. The south China province of Guangdong was then the centre of the revolution and both the worker and peasant movements were on the upsurge. Between July 1924 and the end of 1925, Peng Pai, an eminent Communist and one of the leaders of the early peasant movement who was killed in 1929, and others organized five consecutive classes in the National Institute of the Peasant Movement to train cadres for the peasant movement in various areas of Guangdong. By 1926, the peasant movement had spread to more than ten provinces including Hunan, Hebei, Shandong and Sichuan. This was the situation when Comrade Mao Zedong took charge of the sixth class, with more than 300 students from 20 provinces.

The Peasant Question

We first visited a room on the east side of the house, once the bedroom-office of Comrade Mao Zedong. Inside was a wooden single bed with a mosquito net over it and two bamboo suitcases at one end, a desk, a bookshelf and a few chairs. The simple furnishings bespoke the revolutionary tradition of plain living and hard struggle of the revolutionaries. Then we visited the classrooms and dormitories. Activists of the peasant movement and progressive

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students had come here from different parts of the country to learn how to make revolution. The sixth class lasted from May 23 to September 27, 1926. It was a brief period but its impact on the Chinese revolution was incalculable.

Twenty-five subjects were taught, centring on Marxism-Leninism. They studied the basic question of the Chinese revolution—the peasant question, and the various aspects of the Chinese revolution. Chairman Mao personally lectured on the Chinese peasant question, rural education and other subjects.

At that time the Right opportunists in the Party paid attention only to co-operation with the bourgeoisie and ignored the peasants. The "Left" opportunists in the Party took note of only the workers' movement and, likewise, neglected the peasants. Both felt that the working class was weak but neither knew where to look for allies. In his lectures given at the institute, Comrade Mao Zedong made a profound analysis of the status and role of the peasants in the Chinese revolution. As peasants formed 80 per cent of the population in China, he argued, the peasant question was necessarily the basic question of the Chinese revolution. And as agriculture was the dominant sector of China's economy and production was carried on chiefly by peasants, revolution, too, had to rely on them. It was impossible to overthrow the reactionary regime by the working class alone without the participation of the peasant masses. Peasants, he concluded, were the main force of the Chinese revolution and the largest and staunchest ally of the Chinese proletariat. This



Comrade Mao Zedong (1925).

theory of his played an extremely important role in guiding the Chinese revolution to victory.

A Militant Life

In one students' dormitory, we saw a row of rough wooden beds, each with a neatly folded quilt, a grey cotton uniform and an army cap. Under each bed was a pair of straw sandals. At the head of the beds were shiny black rifles.

As early as those days at the institute, Comrade Mao Zedong persisted in teaching the students the importance of armed struggle. To make revolution, he pointed out, it was imperative to use sword against sword and gun against gun. To defeat the armed force of the landlords, the peasants must have an armed force of their own. In other words, they must have a gun in their hands. This subsequently developed into the famous thesis that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

To train the students into good organizers and leaders of the peasant armed struggle, military training took up one-third of the curriculum. As soon as the bugle sounded early each morning, the students were up and dressed in five minutes. Then they assembled on the drill ground to do running, practise bayoneting, shooting. The students all had to stand sentry.



Students' dormitory as it was in the days of the institute.

They also had emergency musters, practised night fighting, or held manoeuvres in the fields to meet the needs of actual combat.

Other distinguished cadres of the Party also gave lectures in the institute. Comrade Zhou Enlai lectured on the military movement and the peasant movement. Comrade Xiao Chun, who died for the revolution in 1927, gave lectures on imperialism, history of the revolutionary movements in China and so on. He was then stricken with serious tuberculosis, but he did all he could for the revolution. "We must live like a candle," he said. "Give all the warmth and light we have for others."

Peasant Movement Sweeps China

After their graduation, students of the institute secretly returned to the various places they came from to provide leadership for the peasant movement. They ran classes locally to train cadres for the peasant movement, organized peasant associations, set up peasant self-defence corps and led the peasants in armed struggle. In the rural areas, peasant associations raised the slogan: "Down with local despots and bad gentry! All power to the peasants' association!" They also moved to reduce rents and interests, outlawed extortionate taxes and miscellaneous levies and even confiscated the property of the evil landlords and despotic gentry. The centuries-old reactionary landlord regime was hit hard. One graduate of the institute named Chen Tieqiang returned to Chongming County in Jiangsu Province and became the Party secretary leading more than 10,000 tenant peasants in the fight against the landlords for rent-and-interest reduction. Kang Fucheng, another graduate, of Mongolian nationality, conducted revolutionary activities in the area around the Daqing Mountain and, in the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45), his group was giving the invaders a telling blow.

Under the leadership of the Party, the peasant movement rapidly expanded in China. By June 1927, peasant associations had been set up in 15 provinces with a membership of 10 million. The Right opportunists in the Party and the reactionary rulers condemned the peasant movement. "It's going too far!" "It's terrible!" they bleated. But genuine revolutionaries with Comrade Mao Zedong as their representative held that the movement was fine and that it was where the hope of the Chinese revolution lay.

Huangpu Island: Site of a Military Academy

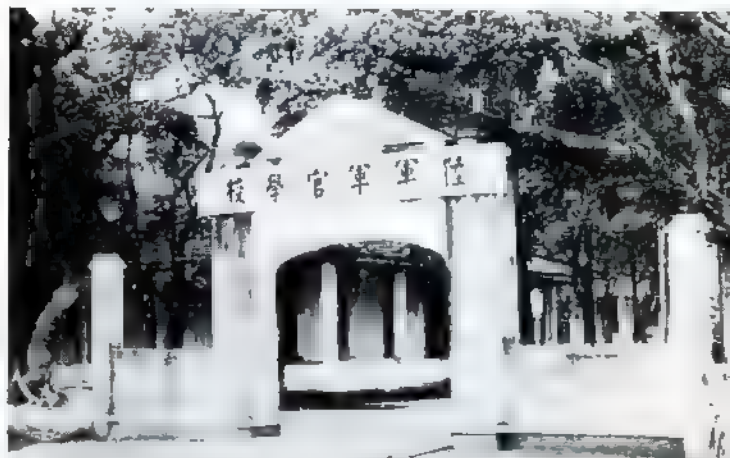
AT the estuary of the Zhujiang (Pearl) River nearly 20 kilometres east of Guangzhou city, we boarded a ship which took us to Huangpu (Whampoa), an island of only six square kilometres.

As we went ashore, we saw the characters "Army Officers Academy" inscribed over an arch on the gate facing the Zhujiang. The caretaker of the former academy site told us that the arch had been restored in 1965. We were also told that it once had a couplet flanking it which read: "Please go elsewhere if you want promotion and riches, don't come here if you care for nothing but saving your own skin." It seemed we could hear again the ringing refrain of the old academy song: "Waves are raging, Red flags are fluttering. This is our revolutionary Huangpu! . . ."

The caretaker led us past the site of the academy's dormitories which no longer exist and, through a tree-lined path, to the former residence of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. This was a small brick-and-wood building which faced the Zhujiang and was surrounded by trees. Tall *yulan* magnolias swayed gently in the breeze. Dr. Sun's bedroom on the second floor was what it was like originally but his office was now an exhibition room.

United Front

The Huangpu Military Academy, founded in May 1924, was the outcome of the first period of co-operation between the Kuomintang and



The Huangpu Military Academy's gate.

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the Chinese Communist Party and the establishment of the revolutionary united front. The Third National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party held in June 1923 correctly appraised the Kuomintang leader Sun Yat-sen's anti-imperialist and anti-feudal position and decided to establish the revolutionary united front based on Kuomintang-Communist co-operation so as jointly to promote the democratic revolution against imperialism and feudalism. With the help of the Chinese Communist Party and the Soviet Union, Sun Yat-sen in 1923 defined the Three Great Policies of alliance with Russia, co-operation with the Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and workers.

In January 1924, the First National Congress of the Kuomintang was convened. Communist Li Dazhao (Li Ta-chao) took part in the work of organizing and leading the congress. Li Dazhao and two other Communists were elected to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, Mao Zedong and five other Communists were elected the committee's alternate members. The congress brought about Kuomintang-Communist co-operation and the revolutionary united front and the decision to found the Huangpu Military Academy.

A portrait of Sun Yat-sen speaking at the inauguration of the academy and the text of his speech hung on the wall of the exhibition room. In his speech Dr. Sun ascribed the failure of the Chinese revolution to the "lack of a genuine revolutionary armed force and the support of the broad masses of the people." For this reason, he said, "the only hope lies in the founding of a revolutionary army which will save China from doom."

The Communist Party sent Comrade Zhou Enlai to the academy where he was appointed director of its political department. In the exhibition room, we saw a photo of 27-year-old Zhou Enlai in army uniform, young, martial and alert. Comrade Ye Jianying, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress today, had taken part in the preparatory work for founding the academy. Communists Yun Daiying (died a martyr's death in 1931), Xiao Chunyu and Xiong Xiong (both killed in 1927), and Nie Rongzhen, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the N.P.C. Standing Committee today, and other comrades were appointed instructors. The Party also sent many Communist Party members and Youth League members and



Comrade Zhou Enlai, director of the Huangpu Military Academy's political department, in 1924.

revolutionary youths chosen from various places for training in the academy. The Communists were the revolutionary core in the academy.

Comrade Zhou Enlai organized a special Communist Party branch and Communist Youth League branches in the academy and, with Party and League members as the nucleus, initiated the formation of the Chinese Young Armymen's Federation and published *Zhongguo Junren* (Chinese Armymen) and other periodicals to disseminate Marxism-Leninism. His establishment of a complete system of doing political work brought about a new look to the academy. Texts of some of his speeches and articles written in those years were displayed in the exhibition room. In these he had applied the basic principles of Marxism to analysing the concrete problems of the Chinese revolution. Comrade Zhou Enlai resolutely implemented the Party's policy on the revolutionary united front, co-operated closely with the Kuomintang Left-wingers and progressives in various circles. These helped to enormously expand the Huangpu academy.

Northern Expedition

The revolutionary army formed with the cadres and cadets of the academy as the nucleus

became the basic force in the two eastern expeditions in 1925 and the Northern Expedition in 1926-27. The eastern expeditions' aim was to wipe out the warlord forces in Guangdong Province, unify and consolidate the Guangdong revolutionary base area. Zhou Enlai twice led the cadets to take part in the eastern expeditions. The cadets strictly observed discipline and fought heroically and won the enthusiastic support of the people.

Kuomintang-Communist co-operation soon resulted in consolidating the Guangdong revolutionary base area and bringing about an upsurge in the worker-peasant mass movement. In this favourable situation the Northern Expedition against the imperialist-backed feudal warlord rule started in July 1926. The feudal warlord forces then centred on Beijing numbered 750,000. The 100,000-strong National Revolutionary Army founded jointly by the Kuomintang and the Communist Party thrust northward from Guangdong along three routes.

The core force of the Independent Regiment of the Fourth Army of the Northern Expeditionary Army under the command of Communist Ye Ting (died in an air accident in 1946) was composed of Communist Party members picked from graduates of the Huangpu academy. This revolutionary regiment under direct Party leadership fought valiantly as the vanguard in major battles. They fought heroically and skilfully all the way and the enemy crumbled before them. The people called the regiment the "Iron Contingent."

In less than six months, the Northern Expeditionary Army had fought its way through the Changjiang River basin and liberated half of China. In March 1927, when the Northern Expeditionary Army moved against Shanghai, the workers there staged a successful armed uprising. This was the high point in the Northern Expeditionary War. Backed by the people, the Northern Expeditionary Army occupied within a year the greater part of the Changjiang and Huanghe River basins and dealt a crushing blow to the imperialist and feudal forces.

Failure

Exhibits on display showed that there was a fierce struggle going on between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party even during their co-operation. Zhou Enlai and a large number of other Communists upheld the revolutionary united front and the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal political programme, united with the Kuomintang Left-wingers and all progressive

forces, and waged tit-for-tat struggles against the anti-Communist Right-wing forces of the Kuomintang.

Chiang Kai-shek did not hold a high position inside the Kuomintang when he was president of the military academy. But, later, when he was in a high position, he sought every chance to attack the Communist Party in order to weaken the revolutionary forces. When Chiang Kai-shek stepped up his divisive activities and betrayed the revolution, Chen Duxiu (Chen Tu-hsiu), then General Secretary of the Communist Party and the representative of the Right opportunist line inside the Party, made one retreat after another and pushed a capitulationist line. (Later, Chen betrayed the revolution and was expelled from the Party in November 1929.)

On April 12, 1927, Chiang Kai-shek, at the bidding of the imperialists, forcibly disarmed the workers and slaughtered and arrested large numbers of workers and Communist Party members in Shanghai. In Guangzhou he disarmed the workers and cadets of the military academy and massacred Communist Party members and other revolutionaries. The military academy was turned into a counter-revolutionary organization. On April 18, Chiang Kai-shek set up an anti-Communist, dictatorial regime in Nanjing. This reactionary regime was a tool in the hands of the imperialists, the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie for domination over China. On July 15, Wang Jingwei (Wang Ching-wei) openly betrayed the revolution in Wuhan and massacred the Communists and other revolutionaries. Countless revolutionaries died a martyrs' death. A white terror reigned over the country.

The 1924-27 Great Revolution, symbolic of Kuomintang-Communist co-operation, (known as the First Revolutionary Civil War in Party history) ended in tragedy. But the revolution did not end. As Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people were neither cowed nor conquered nor exterminated. They picked themselves up, wiped off the blood, buried their fallen comrades and went into battle again." (*On Coalition Government*, 1945.)

We left Guangzhou for Nanchang, the capital of Jiangxi Province, where the first shot of the armed uprising led independently by the Communist Party was fired on August 1, 1927.

(Photos in this article are furnished by museums and revolutionary memorial museums in Shanghai, Zhengzhou, Wuhan and Guangzhou.)

The Non-Aligned Movement

THE non-aligned movement, which will hold its sixth summit conference this September, is a force to be reckoned with in the present international arena. Its development and its growing role in the world today have received close attention from the governments and peoples of various countries.

Aims and Contributions

The non-aligned movement rose and developed amidst the ever surging struggle of the world's people against imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism. In June 1961, under the sponsorship of Yugoslavia, Egypt, India, Indonesia and Afghanistan, preparations were begun for the first summit conference of non-aligned countries which was held in Belgrade in September of that year and was attended by 25 countries. Between 1964 and 1976, four more summit conferences were held in Cairo, Lusaka, Algiers and Colombo. With an increasing number of countries and organizations participating, these conferences have given birth to a widely representative international movement which has broken through racial, regional and other obstacles. The fifth conference was attended by 86 members of the movement (including the Palestine Liberation Organization) with 29 in Asia, 48 in Africa, 7 in Latin America and 2 in Europe. In addition, 10 Latin American countries and 12 liberation and international organizations participated as observers, and 6 European countries and one Asian country as guests. An overwhelming majority of third world countries have taken part in the non-aligned movement. Since the fifth conference, the ranks of this movement have been further broadened by the admittance of Djibouti and Malawi as members. Pakistan and other countries, having quitted the Central Treaty Organization, are also applying to join.

The non-aligned movement also holds foreign ministers' conferences from time to time to discuss major international questions. The fourth summit conference held in 1973 decided to set up a Co-ordinating Bureau to prepare for summit conferences and ministerial conferences

and to co-ordinate its member states' activities and stands, especially in the United Nations.

The non-aligned movement stresses that its aim is to pursue an independent, peaceful and neutral policy, to oppose imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, to support the national-liberation movements, and not to ally with the big powers and military blocs. The declaration adopted by the conference of foreign ministers of non-aligned countries held in Belgrade in July last year once again reaffirmed: "The policy of blocs and military alliances is resolutely rejected, as are all policies directed towards dividing the world into spheres of influence."

The non-aligned movement has made major contributions to international struggles. It gave positive support to the Indochinese peoples' struggle for independence, the Korean people's struggle for the independent and peaceful reunification of their fatherland, the Palestinian and other Arab people's struggle against Zionism, the struggle of the people of southern Africa against racism and for national liberation, the Latin American countries' struggle for defending their independence and sovereignty and protecting their natural resources, and the littoral countries' proposition for establishing 200-nautical-mile territorial waters. In the international economic field, the movement opposes the imperialists' and the old and new colonialists' plundering and exploiting the third world countries and their shifting the burden of their economic crises on to the latter. Meanwhile, it insists that the developing countries have complete and perpetual sovereignty over and inalienable rights to their own natural and human resources as well as their economic activities.

In the United Nations the non-aligned countries have become an important force which cannot be ignored. They frequently hold consultations among themselves on new developments and major questions or adopt united actions. Representatives of many non-aligned countries have waged vigorous struggles to safeguard world peace and international justice

and to expose imperialist and social-imperialist aggression. Late last December, Kuwait and six other non-aligned countries submitted a proposal to the Security Council to stop the large-scale armed aggression launched by the Vietnamese regional hegemonists against Democratic Kampuchea. The resolution forcefully exposed the Soviet and Vietnamese hegemonists' acts and, although it was vetoed by the Soviet Union, it won the support of the majority of the members of the council.

In short, the non-aligned movement has won the respect of the people around the world for its principled stands and actions in the last 18 years.

Divisive Schemes

Alarmed by the non-aligned movement, the imperialists and hegemonists have tried desperately to influence it. Waving the banner of "socialism," the Soviet Union has resorted to vicious tricks to sow dissension and create splits among the non-aligned countries by "supporting" some of them and slandering and cowing others in a vain attempt to change the political orientation of the movement. On the eve of the fourth summit conference of the non-aligned countries, Brezhnev wrote a letter in defence of Soviet hegemonic acts to the chairman of

the conference, warning it not to divide the countries in the world into "big" and "small" or "rich" and "poor." The Soviet chieftain's flagrant interference in the affairs of the non-aligned movement aroused indignation and condemnation from many of its members.

The Soviet Union has not only exerted various external pressures upon the movement but has also instigated the two small hegemonic powers, Cuba and Viet Nam, to cause trouble and disintegrate it from within.

Serving as a trumpeter and hatchet man for the Soviet hegemonists, Cuba has lavishly praised the Soviet Union as "a natural alliance force" for the non-aligned movement. Speaking at the fourth summit conference, Fidel Castro contended that there was only one imperialism (U.S. imperialism) in the world. At the same time, he maligned a large number of non-aligned countries opposing Soviet hegemonism. Cuban journals have advocated that non-alignment means to ally with the Soviet Union. As a matter of fact, this is precisely what Cuba and Viet Nam have done. The so-called "friendship" and "co-operation" treaties they signed with the Soviet Union include articles bearing the nature of a military alliance. As quite a few representatives of the third world countries have pointed out, the relations between the Soviet Union and Cuba, and between the Soviet Union and Viet Nam are closer than they would be if open alignment were proclaimed.

At Moscow's instigation, Cuba and Viet Nam flagrantly launched armed aggression against a number of non-aligned countries in Asia and Africa and unscrupulously interfered in the internal affairs of other countries. Moscow took advantage of the unstable situation in the Middle East and instigated Cuba to collude with it in supporting some Arab countries and opposing others. Cuba is also using the trick of the stick and the carrot against a number of Latin American countries while Viet Nam, acting on the Kremlin's orders to serve its policy of driving southward, has carried out armed occupation of Democratic Kampuchea, brought Laos under its control and spread the flames of war to the Thai borders, thereby posing a threat to ASEAN countries.

Cuba and Viet Nam also monkeyed around with the question of the representation of Democratic Kampuchea. At last May's Coordinating Bureau meeting the overwhelming majority supported the legitimate right of



Non-alignment.

Cartoon by Lan Jjianan

Democratic Kampuchea to attend the Colombo conference in June, finally adopting a resolution to invite its representatives to attend the conference by a vote of 81 to 8. But incited by the Soviet Union, Cuba and Viet Nam used every means to oppose this resolution in an attempt to place representatives of the puppet Phnom Penh regime in the conference.

Cuba also described those countries which followed the Soviet hegemonists as "progressive non-aligned countries" and slandered those countries which opposed hegemonism as "reactionary non-aligned countries." Because of Soviet meddling and influence and the continuous splittist activities by Cuba and Viet Nam, the unity of the movement has been seriously harmed.

The Road Forward

A great number of non-aligned countries have nevertheless striven to defend the correct orientation of the movement and safeguard their unity.

As one of the main founders of the movement, Yugoslavia has made the policy of non-alignment the core of its foreign policy. In the last few years, it has held aloft the banner of the movement and firmly defended the principles of non-alignment. Last May President Tito stressed: "Measures must be taken to resolutely prevent the attempts of bringing bloc tendencies into the policy of non-alignment. These attempts are contrary to the essence of non-alignment and will inevitably lead to new divisions, which will create a serious danger for the world as a whole." Yugoslavia has repeatedly appealed to the member states of the movement to strive to make the sixth summit conference successful

on the basis of the fundamental principles of non-alignment.

The Yugoslav proposal has enjoyed a good deal of support. Many member states have resolutely repudiated the absurd arguments distorting the principles of non-alignment; they ridiculed the attempt to describe the Soviet Union as "the natural ally" of the movement.

Many non-aligned countries feel uneasy about the decision to hold the sixth summit conference in Havana. Some have said that they would either boycott the conference or send representatives at a lower level, while others have demanded a postponement or a change in the meeting place. Still others contend that Cuba should be ousted from the movement because its actions have proved it to be a Soviet agent.

Guilt-stricken, Cuba has grown alarmed about these developments. Beginning at the end of last year, Castro and other Cuban leaders went abroad to peddle their ideas. A dozen Cuban representatives at a ministerial level have been sent to many Asian, African, Latin American and European countries since last March to drum up support for Cuba's position. With the sixth summit conference approaching, Moscow apparently worries that Cuba cannot do whatever it likes at the meeting. The Kremlin has turned the propaganda machine on full blast to glorify itself, defend Cuba and intimidate the non-aligned countries. The movement will face arduous struggles on the road ahead. But, so long as most non-aligned countries can see through the external and internal interference and sabotage and take firm actions to thwart them, the movement will definitely move forward.

—Yang Xuechun

Soviet Economy

Aching Energy Problem

TOTAL Soviet oil output was less than half the United States' in the early 1960s. In 1974, the Soviet Union led the world, turning out 458 million tons. The United States was behind. Last year the Soviet output was 572 million tons, 19 per cent of the world's total. But good times did not last long. The Soviet leadership is now worrying about an energy problem.

Oilfields, Old and New. Production in the major oilfields in the European part of the Soviet Union has dropped sharply and many of them are drying up after years of exploitation. The well-known Baku Oilfield's yearly output, for one, now hovers about 20 million tons and output in "Baku II" in the Ural-Volga region has remained at under 200 million tons a year since 1967.

Siberia is rich in oil. The Tyumen Oilfields, opened not long ago, is now the Soviet Union's most important oil producing centre. Oil output in western Siberia was only 44.8 million tons in 1971. In 1978, it reached nearly 250 million tons, making up 43 per cent of the country's total. But here, too, there are problems. First, enormous investments are needed, because of the long distances from consumption centres and the harsh climate making extraction and transport very difficult. Secondly, most oilfields in the Tyumen region, including the biggest Samotlor Oilfield, have reached or are approaching their designed capacities. To boost output further, new fields have to be opened up. However, 35 to 50 per cent of Tyumen's deposits are buried in the more difficult and northern parts of the region. Not only are much more investments needed but the difficulties are much greater and beyond current Soviet technology. Up to now, the Soviet Union has been making up for the marked decline in production in the old fields with Tyumen's output. But this cannot go on with the present sluggish growth in Tyumen.

Output Increase Lags Behind Consumption Growth. All this has resulted in the slowing down of the growth rate in Soviet oil production and the oil output increases at a slower and slower pace than consumption. Official Soviet figures show that from 1965 to 1969, crude oil production went up at an annual rate of 8 per cent, while for oil consumption, it was 7.1 per cent. From 1970 to 1974, however, oil consumption increased 7.8 per cent annually whereas production only rose 6.9 per cent a year. Output growth was falling behind consumption increase. This tendency persists. Although in the current 1976-80 five-year plan the growth rate was lowered to 30 per cent from the 39 per cent of the previous five-year plan, total output for two of the past three years was 7 million tons less than the production target.

As oil accounts for some 45 per cent of the Soviet Union's energy production, and growth in oil production has not been able to keep up with increase in consumption, and the coal industry has been in a bad shape, there have been clear signs of a tension in the energy supplies in the Soviet Union in recent years. Earlier this year, *Pravda* warned in an editorial that "a fuel difficulty, as all know, has appeared" in the Soviet Union. At a press conference last May, Vice-Chairman N.L. Lebedinsky of the State Planning Committee also admitted that there existed very serious fuel and power

problems in the world, and the Soviet Union was no exception. To save oil, the authorities have raised oil prices by a big margin, set limits to energy consumption and enforced oil rationing in this year's plan for the national economy.

Oil Exports. Oil exports are another headache for the Soviet Union. It is at once a major oil producer and a major oil exporter. Out of its economic interests and foreign policy needs it exported more than a quarter of its total oil output in the past decade. It must ship large quantities to the East European CMEA members which depend on Moscow for 70 to 80 per cent of their oil. However, with oil consumption rising and production growth rate dwindling at home, the Soviet Union is no longer able to meet their oil demands, and it may even have to cut down its oil exports to these countries. Moscow has repeatedly urged these "fraternal countries" to implement strict oil-and-gas-saving measures. The Soviet Union must also export oil to the West to earn hard currencies and get credits and buy patents. A report said Moscow earned in 1976 thousands of millions of U.S. dollars by selling some 70 million tons of oil to Italy, Finland, West Germany, France and Austria. It cannot but export oil in large quantities, but it has great difficulties in further boosting the exports. This is an additional factor aggravating the Soviet Union's energy problem.

Way Out. What is the way out? There are only two choices:

One is to speed up oil exploitation. And this involves finding the resources, in addition to money and technology. The known accessible oil reserves in the country amount to over 11,000 million tons, but at the present extraction rate, these will run out within 20 years. Adverse natural conditions and low level of technology are holding up the finding of new resources, so little progress has been made in recent years.

The other way out is to get oil from other countries. Many experts and research institutes predict that the Soviet Union will have to import large quantities of oil by the mid-80s.

What actually happens only time will tell. But one thing is sure. A drive to get oil from abroad will lead the Soviet Union directly into an acute energy conflict with the West. In the Soviet Union's long struggle for hegemony in the oil-rich Middle East and North Africa with the other superpower, military strategic considerations apart, the quest for oil is a very important factor.

Energy Troubles in East European Countries

FIVE member states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) — Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary and Poland — have no alternative but to tap new domestic energy resources and economize on consumption as their energy needs are growing and the supply of Soviet petroleum is dwindling.

Before the 1960s, 90 per cent of these countries' energy needs were met with coal. All were coal producers, with Poland particularly known for its anthracite and the German Democratic Republic for its lignite. In the 1970s, they have gradually turned to petroleum and natural gas as the main sources of energy. Since they do not have an adequate supply of domestic petroleum, their self-sufficiency in fuel has been drastically curtailed.

In 1978 Hungary only produced 53 per cent of its energy. The figure is 60 per cent for the German Democratic Republic now. In 1977, Bulgaria produced only 2 per cent of the oil it needed. Poland, one of the world's main coal exporters, now imports large amounts of liquid fuel. Czechoslovakia imported the increased amount of fuel and energy requirements during its previous five-year plan (1971-75) almost entirely from the Soviet Union and in 1976 depended on imports for one-third of its energy needs. The Soviet Union was thus able to monopolize the fuel and energy imports of these East European countries, supplying almost all of their petroleum, natural gas and electric power imports in 1973, three-fifths of their anthracite imports and three-fourths of their imports of petroleum products.

In recent years, however, the Soviet Union has come up against difficulties in exploiting its domestic energy resources with increase in production failing to keep up with rise in consumption. Moreover, amidst the wave of worldwide oil price hikes, it exports greater amounts of petroleum to the West to gain more foreign exchange and consequently cuts its oil supply to these East European countries. Several years ago, Moscow indicated that it would freeze its oil supply to them. The rate of increase in its

fuel supply to the CMEA states in the period from 1976 to 1980 will be 26 per cent less than in the previous five-year period. The five countries have more than once bargained with the Soviet Union for an increase in fuel supply but their requests were rejected.

In 1975, the Soviet Union again increased by a big margin the price of oil exports to the five East European countries, just when their demand was sharply rising. It has since then readjusted prices within the CMEA every year instead of every five years as in the past. In fact, prices have increased year after year. In addition, under the pretext that oil resources are nearing depletion in the western part of the country and difficulties are encountered in exploiting oil in Siberia and the northern part, Moscow demands that these East European countries provide it with both money and manpower for "joint ventures" as a precondition for further oil supplies. These measures have brought heavy economic losses to these countries.

To solve the energy problem and lessen their dependence on oil and gas imports, these five countries recently have re-emphasized the development of their own fuel and power industries, especially coal. The German Democratic Republic has set aside 60 per cent of its industrial investments for exploiting its own resources, particularly lignite. Poland has allocated one-third of its industrial investments for building coal and power bases. Czechoslovakia's investments in the coal industry for the current five-year plan are 50 per cent above those in the previous five-year plan. Hungary has used 40 per cent of its industrial investments for the power industries and Bulgaria has tried to exploit its own low quality coal, now generating 50 per cent of its thermal power with the coal.

These countries have also adopted strict measures to cut energy consumption. Czechoslovakia has stressed using coal instead of oil in as many places as possible. Hungary is urging the whole country to save 300,000 tons of crude oil by 1980. It is shortening the time when night

street lights are on and placing a limit on indoor heating. To economize on petroleum consumption, the Polish Government has fixed quotas for the use of fuels, urged enterprises to gradually replace oil with coal and raised oil prices. The Bulgarian Council of Ministers passed a resolution forbidding coal furnaces to be converted into oil burners and urged re-fitting oil burners with devices for using coal.

The Council recently adopted another resolution, stipulating that all economic organizations, government organs and households must practise strict economy.

During recent years, these five countries have also made efforts to import oil from other countries. At present, over 20 per cent of their oil imports come from the third world.

The Arms Race in Outer Space

BANNING anti-satellite weapons (ASATs) was one of the topics Soviet and U.S. leaders discussed when they signed the SALT II treaty at the Vienna summit talks.

The development of ASATs—mainly interceptor satellites (also called killer satellites) which have the capacity to home-in on and destroy hostile military satellites—has sharpened outer-space rivalry between the two superpowers.

The two countries have been vying with each other over the launching and utilizing of satellites for military purposes ever since the Soviet Union launched the world's first artificial earth satellite in October 1957 and the United States put its first satellite into orbit in January 1958. By the end of 1977, an estimated 2,000 satellites were orbiting in space, the great majority of which were Soviet and American. Furthermore, most were for military purposes—Soviet military satellites numbered 902; U.S., 613. The two superpowers use their military satellites for reconnaissance, surveillance and gathering intelligence as well as for communications, relaying commands and navigation. It can be said that these satellites have become the superpowers' distant eyes, ears and command posts.

Moscow and Washington have both spent huge sums in their contention for outer-space supremacy. In recent years they have stepped up their ASAT research and development as a means to control outer space. The United States was the first to develop an anti-satellite system. In the early 60s, the Nike-Zeus anti-ballistic missile and the Thor intermediate-range ballistic missile were adapted to an anti-satellite role. This system, however, was later deactivated.

It was the Soviet Union that was the first to test ASATs. According to U.S. journals, the Soviet Union conducted a series of 16 tests which were begun in 1967. They were discontinued in December 1971 only to be resumed in 1976, when several types of interceptor satellites were tested. In 1977, the Soviet Union launched three target satellites and four interceptor satellites. Upon reaching their orbits, the interceptors chased and caught up with the target satellites, proving that the interceptors were capable of blowing up their targets. When the Soviet Union used an interceptor satellite to destroy the functional components of a U.S. satellite over the Indian Ocean that was monitoring Soviet missile launches, the West was greatly alarmed. Western space analysts believe that in the past two years the Soviet Union has successfully tested their interceptor satellites eight times. U.S. Defence Secretary Harold Brown claims that the Soviet Union's ASAT system is operational. American official circles are greatly disturbed for they fear that these interceptor satellites could destroy the Pentagon's ability to keep in touch with and issue commands to U.S. warships, aircraft, submarines, missile silos and ground forces which are scattered all over the world; if war suddenly breaks out, the United States would be unable to determine the military situation for a time and its command system would be paralysed.

With the Soviet Union making steady headway in developing its ASATs, the U.S. Government in January 1977 ordered the implementation of a new programme for developing and deploying an anti-satellite system. After becoming President, Jimmy Carter approved a plan for making vigorous efforts to research and develop anti-satellite weaponry. U.S. Defence

Secretary Brown announced that the United States was not going to allow the Soviet Union to take a big lead in the field of outer-space weaponry. The *Washington Post* revealed that the United States was going to test two ASATs — one armed with non-nuclear explosives and the other designed to destroy a hostile satellite on impact. Both countries are now paying special attention to researching the use of laser and charged-particle beams as ASATs.

Meanwhile, in an attempt to limit the Soviet lead in the rivalry for outer-space supremacy, the United States formally proposed on November 21, 1977, that a treaty be concluded with the Soviet Union on banning ASATs. But this proposal was coolly received by Moscow, and it was only after a great deal of haggling that the two sides agreed to discuss the matter. Their representatives held two rounds of talks, first in Helsinki in June 1978 and then in Berne

in January 1979, but no significant progress was made. Last April, as the Soviet Union and the United States stepped up negotiations for their SALT II agreement, these discussions were reopened in Vienna. Since satellites are its chief means for verifying strategic weapons, the United States had hoped to conclude an agreement banning ASATs and sign it at the Soviet-U.S. summit conference. However, the Soviet demands were too high; the Vienna talks dragged on and the leaders of the two countries also failed to reach an agreement on this issue when they met in Vienna. U.S. officials said some time ago that if the Moscow leaders refused to conclude an agreement and persisted in testing their anti-satellite weapons, then it was obvious that the United States would have to develop weapons that would at least match the Soviet Union's in capability.

— Gao Jiawan

On China's Sovereignty Over Xisha and Nansha Islands

Hanoi Goes Back on Its Word

THE Vietnamese Foreign Ministry's statement of August 7 contains a number of excuses which have been invented to deny the fact that the Vietnamese Government on many formal occasions recognized the Xisha and Nansha Islands as Chinese territory. This is an example of Hanoi eating its own words.

At a news conference given by Yang Gong-su, Deputy Head of the Chinese Government Delegation to the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations in Beijing, on July 30, a pamphlet was distributed to the press, which contains Vietnamese statements, notes to the Chinese side, newspaper reports, maps and extracts from school textbooks, showing that before 1974, the Vietnamese Government had explicitly recognized the islands in question as belonging to China.

For example, in a statement on May 9, 1965, with reference to the designation by the U.S. Government of the "combat zone" of the U.S. armed forces in Viet Nam, the Vietnamese Government said: "U.S. President Lyndon Johnson designated the whole of Viet Nam, and the adjacent waters which extend roughly 100 miles from the coast of Viet Nam and part of

the territorial waters of the People's Republic of China in its Xisha Islands as 'combat zone' of the United States armed forces . . . in direct threat to the security of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and its neighbours. . . ."

However, what the government said then was written off in a theory of a "historical background" concocted by the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry in its statement last August 7. The statement said: "The fight to save their country from the U.S. aggressors was demanding from the Vietnamese people all forms of struggle for safeguarding their territorial integrity and Viet Nam and China moreover, were on good terms. So the May 9, 1965 statement of the D.R.V.N. Government was significant against that historical background alone."

To translate this passage into plain terms, during the war when the Vietnamese authorities badly needed Chinese assistance, they deemed it expedient to recognize the fact that the Xisha Islands are part of Chinese territory. Now that the war against U.S. aggression is over and Viet Nam has become "the world's third military power" as they have claimed,

Nhan Dan

CƠ QUAN TRUNG ƯƠNG CỦA ĐẢNG LAO ĐỘNG VIỆT NAM
Tạp chí Báo Nhân Dân: 71 Hàng Trường (Hà Nội) Điện thoại: 4231
Năm thứ nhất - số 40 Tháng 5-1965

CỤC LỰC LIN AN VÀ PHÂN ĐỘI CHÍNH PHỦ MỸ
CƠ QUAN (HÀ NỘI) VÀ (NGHIÊN KẾ) CÁN BỘ
LỰC CHIẾN ĐẤU CỦA LỰC LƯỢNG TỰ TRUNG MỸ

CHÍNH PHỦ TA TUYÊN BỐ:

Nước Việt-nam thuộc chủ quyền của nhân dân Việt-nam. Chính phủ Mỹ không có quyền đưa quân đến chiến đấu ở bất kỳ nơi nào trên lãnh thổ Việt-nam và ở vùng biển kề cận nước Việt-nam

Ngày 5-5-65...
Chính phủ ta tuyên bố...
Chính phủ Mỹ không có quyền đưa quân đến chiến đấu ở bất kỳ nơi nào trên lãnh thổ Việt-nam và ở vùng biển kề cận nước Việt-nam

CHÍNH PHỦ TA TUYÊN BỐ:
Bổ thêm lao động vào đơn vị diện tích tăng năng suất lao động trong

TẬP TRÚM TÊN MANG THO HỒ CHỦ TỊCH
TÀ KINH NẾP CUNG CẤP ĐIỆN-ĐIỀU-ĐIỀU

NGÀY 8-5, NGHE-AN, QUẢNG-BÌNH

BẮN RƠI 5 MÁY BAY MỸ

Từ 5-8-1964 đến 8-5-1965, 281 máy bay Mỹ đã bị bắn rơi trên miền Bắc

Kỷ niệm lần thứ 11 chiến thắng lịch sử Điện-Biên-phủ

Phát huy tinh thần Điện-Biên-phủ anh hùng toàn dân, toàn quân ta quyết tâm đánh tan giặc Mỹ xâm lược

Phát huy tinh thần Điện-Biên-phủ anh hùng toàn dân, toàn quân ta quyết tâm đánh tan giặc Mỹ xâm lược



ĐOÀN ĐẠI BIỂU ĐẢNG CỘNG SẢN Y TỌNG HỒ CHỦ TỊCH
HỘI CHƯƠNG VÀNG
"CÁ - RI - TÂN - DI"
— Nhân dân Y tọng nhân d ta một bệnh viện

On May 10, 1965, the Vietnamese paper *Nhan Dan* carried the full text of the statement issued by the Vietnamese Government about the area the U.S. Government had designated as a "combat zone" for the U.S. armed forces in Viet Nam. By pointing out that the U.S. Government's decision affected China's territorial sea around the Xisha Islands, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam explicitly recognized the Xisha Islands as Chinese territory.

they believe they can retract their statement under the pretext of "historical background."

Since Hanoi has broken its word on issues as serious as territory and sovereignty, it will certainly be dishonest on other matters.

In its August 7 statement, the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry also denied the fact that Vietnamese Premier Pham Van Dong's note to Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai dated September 14, 1958 proclaimed Viet Nam's recognition of the Xisha and Nansha Islands as Chinese territory. It said: "The spirit and letters of the note were strictly confined to recognition of China's 12-mile territorial waters."

What were the facts then?

On September 4, 1958, the Chinese Government declared the breadth of China's territorial sea to be 12 nautical miles. The declaration says: "This provision applies to all territories of the People's Republic of China, including . . .

the Dongsha Islands, the Xisha Islands, the Zhongsha Islands, the Nansha Islands and all other islands belonging to China."

Ten days later, in a note to Premier Zhou Enlai, Premier Pham Van Dong stated in unmistakable terms: "The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam recognizes and supports the declaration of the Government of the People's Republic of China on its decision concerning China's territorial sea made on September 4, 1958."

Extensive excerpts of the Chinese declaration were subsequently published in the Vietnamese paper, *Nhan Dan* including the passage that the Dongsha, Xisha, Zhongsha and Nansha island groups belong to China. *Nhan Dan* also featured the full text of Premier Pham Van Dong's note.

Recognition of Xisha and Nansha as Chinese territories was stated in many other official documents, newspaper reports, maps and

LUSAKA CONFERENCE

Statement on Rhodesian Problem

The 22nd Commonwealth summit conference held in early August in Lusaka, Zambia, dealt mainly with the Rhodesian problem, economic co-operation between developing and developed countries and the Southeast Asian situation.

Debate raged over the question of Rhodesia. The African member states flatly refused to recognize the Muzorewa regime masquerading as black majority rule but actually upholding white racist rule. The Conservative government of Mrs. Thatcher, on the other hand, said it would recognize the regime and would consider lifting economic sanctions against Rhodesia. The Patriotic Front and some African countries were not happy to hear this. Leaders of some Commonwealth member countries like Zambia, Tanzania and Nigeria repeatedly appealed to Britain not to recognize the regime of Muzorewa and warned that if Britain went ahead with its plan, it was inviting disintegration of the Commonwealth. On July 31, Nigeria announced it was nationalizing Britain's share of the nation's oil industry, a move regarded by some as a warning to Britain.

After intense negotiations between the differing parties inside and outside the conference, a nine-point statement on Rhodesia was adopted on August 5. It declared that the participant countries have the responsibility of bringing about genuine black majority rule for

the Zimbabwean people and that it was Britain's constitutional commitment to give Zimbabwe legal independence based on majority rule. The statement welcomed the British Government's principle proposing that a constitutional conference be called inviting all parties and a democratic constitution adopted which includes appropriate safeguards for minorities and that a government be set up through free and fair supervised elections. This statement is in fact a repudiation of the "constitution" Smith concocted and the "government" he formed through bogus elections. Some foreign commentators held that Britain has made "major concessions" to African countries.

Whether the statement could really lead to solving the thorny Rhodesian problem, however, remains to be seen, because it was adopted without the agreement of the Zimbabwean parties concerned and without asking the opinion of the Zimbabwean people.

GHANA

After the Coup

A joint commission of the Ghanaian Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (A.F.R.C.) and the incoming People's National Party (P.N.P.) was set up in the capital city of Accra on August 10. The commission is to work out a programme and take measures to ensure a smooth transition from military to civilian rule in Ghana.

After the military coup d'etat on January 13, 1972, which top-

pled the Busia regime, a national salvation committee was formed and later it was replaced by the Supreme Military Council. Under the strong demand of the masses, the military junta promised a general election in June this year. On May 15 and June 4 this year, Flight-Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings launched two coups. On June 5 he announced the formation of the A.F.R.C. which, on June 8, ordered all officers who had once held government posts to report in within a given time and hand over their assets and properties. The A.F.R.C. then froze all assets and properties and bank deposits of the former head of state Fred Akuffo and large numbers of army and government leaders as well as merchants. A "revolutionary court" was set up and beginning from June 16, it sentenced former heads of state Ignatius Acheampong and Akuffo and other officers to death on charges that they had abused power to make money, squandered public funds and sabotaged public property. The "house cleaning exercise" is still going on in Ghana today.

As soon as it took over power, the A.F.R.C. announced that elections would take place according to the original plan. The final results of Ghana's parliamentary and presidential elections which began on June 18 showed that the People's National Party — with the Convention People's Party (C.P.P.) led by the late President Kwame Nkrumah as its predecessor — defeated all by winning more than half of the seats in the parliament. Its presidential candidate H. Limann was elected President on July 9. The

A.F.R.C. thereupon announced that the date set for the transference of power to the newly elected government would be moved from July 1 to October 1.

In his address at the inauguration of the joint A.F.R.C.-P.N.P. commission, A.F.R.C. Chairman Rawlings said that in addition to drawing up a programme for the return to civilian rule, the commission will ensure that the current "house cleaning exercise" is followed up and continued if necessary after the handover. This, he said, will make sure that the revolution initiated on June 4 will not disappear with the departure of the A.F.R.C.

In his speech, President H. Limann urged the commission to devise measures to reduce fears and calm down all sectors of the community to enable Ghanaians to return to productive activities so as to lift the country from the present economic mess.

VENEZUELA

New Economic Policies

A new price policy was promulgated on August 8 by the Venezuelan Government. This policy, along with the blueprint of the sixth national plan, the agriculture development programme and the housing plan announced a few days ago, has outlined the government's economic policies.

The new price policy divides those commodities hitherto under price control into two categories. The first category, containing 60 kinds of home-produced or imported necessities such as powdered milk, meat and rice, is still under price control. The second category

includes 185 items which will be subject to free-pricing.

The focal point in the blueprint of the sixth national plan is to limit state investment in such basic industries as the oil, steel and petrochemical industries and to promote the production of semi-finished products and capital goods. Non-basic industrial projects are to be transferred to private enterprises through government loans.

Under the agriculture development programme, purchasing prices on certain agricultural and animal husbandry products (including sorghum, meat and cotton) will be raised, comprehensive agricultural development centres established, more technical assistance provided and more research carried out, and rural living conditions be improved. The purpose is to encourage small and medium farmers and make farming a profitable occupation so as to absorb more people in farming.

Some people believe that the government's economic policy is characterized by cutting down state investment, reducing public debts, restoring free competition among producers and stimulating the development of the private sector.

The enormous income from oil has been the main source for the country's public expenditure and the motive force for its various economic activities. However, the government's huge investments in certain economic sectors and the massive public expenditures have made it impossible to make both ends meet. The Finance Ministry reported that, by March 12, the country's debts had gone up to 51,800 million

bolivar, 84 per cent being foreign debts. Because of the price control policy, many capitalists were hesitant in investing. This adversely affected the development of the economy.

SOUTH KOREA

Suppression of Democrats

In May this year, noted personage Kim Yong Sam, following his re-election as president of the opposition New Democratic Party, proposed "restoration of democracy," cancellation of "emergency measures" and release of "political prisoners" in south Korea and urged direct election for "president" by south Korean citizens, with a view to promoting democratization in south Korea. He also expressed his willingness to meet President Kim Il Sung to discuss Korea's peaceful reunification.

His proposals conform to the aspirations of the south Korean people and are conducive to the peaceful reunification of Korea. They have evoked strong reaction among the south Korean people of all strata. In face of such a situation, the south Korean authorities have on three occasions (June 11, July 5 and 30) dispatched police to raid the headquarters of the New Democratic Party, seized their party organ *Minju Chonson* and distributed leaflets attacking Kim Yong Sam. A leading member of the party's paper and two other New Democratic personages were arrested on July 30 on the charge that the paper carried Kim Yong Sam's speech at the national assembly, which was alleged to be a "violation of No. 9 emergency measures."

On the other hand, the authorities also intensified persecution of democrats. Kim Dae Jung was again taken for interrogation by the Seoul district public procurator's office on June 11. Ex-"president" Yun Bo Son and the famous religious figure Han Sok Bon have been under house arrest since early June. On July 4, nine south Korean people were detained for demanding the release of the poet Kim Chi Ha and other political prisoners.

The Pak Jung Hi clique's oppression has stirred up stronger opposition from the south Korean people, and the New Democratic Party has issued

statements protesting against the regime's atrocities. Kim Yong Sam, President of the New Democratic Party, said in a recent statement that he was not afraid of being imprisoned and that they would fight to the end.

MEXICO

U.S. Blood Pedlars

U.S. blood pedlars have set up many "blood banks" and "plasma centres" on the United States' 3,200-kilometre border with Mexico to make profit at the expense of the Mexican working people.

Those blood-sucking institutions have lavishly advertised in Mexican newspapers circulated in the border areas, alluring Mexico's poor farm workers and people without certificates to sell blood in the United States. Up to now, over 100,000 Mexicans aged from 15 to 45 have sold blood to these U.S. institutions.

The Mexican paper *Uno Mas Uno* reported that on an average one non-certificated Mexican is seen every hour crossing the border to sell blood to these institutions, which make a profit of up to 1,000 per cent from every blood seller. Many Mexicans have died as a consequence, the paper said.

How to Pronounce the Chinese Phonetic Alphabet

Following is the Chinese phonetic alphabet showing the pronunciation with approximate English equivalents. Spelling in the Wade system is in brackets for reference.

- "a" (a), a vowel, as in far;
- "b" (p), a consonant, as in be;
- "c" (ts), a consonant, as "ts" in its; and
- "ch" (ch), a consonant, as "ch" in church, strongly aspirated;
- "d" (t), a consonant, as in do;
- "e" (e), a vowel, as "er" in her, the "r" being silent; but "ie", a diphthong, as in yes and "ei", a diphthong, as in way;
- "f" (f), a consonant, as in foot;
- "g" (k), a consonant, as in go;
- "h" (h), a consonant, as in her, strongly aspirated;
- "i" (i), a vowel, two pronunciations:
 - 1) as in eat
 - 2) as in sir in syllables beginning with the consonants c, ch, r, s, sh, z and zh;
- "j" (ch), a consonant, as in jeep;
- "k" (k), a consonant, as in kind, strongly aspirated;

- "l" (l), a consonant, as in land;
- "m" (m), a consonant, as in me;
- "n" (n), a consonant, as in no;
- "o" (o), a vowel, as "aw" in law;
- "p" (p), a consonant, as in par, strongly aspirated;
- "q" (ch), a consonant, as "ch" in cheek;
- "r" (j), a consonant pronounced as "r" but not rolled, or like "z" in azure;
- "s" (s, ss, sz), a consonant, as in sister; and "sh" (sh), a consonant, as "sh" in shore;
- "t" (t), a consonant, as in top, strongly aspirated;
- "u" (u), a vowel, as in too, also as in the French "u" in "tu" or the German umlauted "u" in "Muenchen";
- "v" (v), is used only to produce foreign and national minority words, and local dialects;
- "w" (w), used as a semi-vowel in syllables beginning with "u" when not preceded by consonants, pronounced as in want;
- "x" (hs), a consonant, as "sh" in she;
- "y", used as a semi-vowel in syllables beginning with "i" or "u" when not preceded by consonants, pronounced as in yet;
- "z" (ts, tz), a consonant, as in zero; and "zh" (ch), a consonant, as "j" in jump.

⑩ **Reopening Moslem Mosques**

The Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region in northwest China has reopened and will reopen 158 Moslem mosques.

These mosques, which were damaged to varying degrees in the past few years, are being repaired with government funds. Among them are the famous mosque in Yinchuan city and the 800-year-old mosque in Tongxin County.

The people of the Hui minority nationality are predominately concentrated in Ningxia, constituting one-third of the region's population. Most are Moslems.

In 1964, the region set up an Islamic association. In July this year, the association's second committee held its first session at which, through democratic consultation, a standing committee with Imam Jin Fengshan as its chairman was elected. According to the provisions of the Chinese Constitution, the session also adopted

resolutions on further developing the glorious tradition of patriotism and abiding by the law, respecting and protecting proper religious practices, and freedom to profess a religion.

● **Lhasa Hospital of Tibetan Medicine**

The four-storeyed building housing the Lhasa Hospital of Tibetan Medicine was put to use last spring. Equipped with modern facilities in downtown Lhasa, the hospital treats about 800 patients every day.

Tibetan medicine with a history of over 1,000 years is a part of traditional Chinese medicine widely practised in parts of northwest and southwest China, and is closely linked with the school of medicine practised elsewhere in the country.

The Lhasa hospital was established in 1959. It had four departments: medicine, surgery, gynecology and acupuncture and moxibustion. After the new building was completed, an ENT (ear-nose-

throat) department, emergency room, electrocardiograph room and a laboratory were added, and its medical staff went up from 65 to 114.

Before the new building was built, doctors of Tibetan medicine made diagnoses of gastric troubles, dysentery and various lung troubles only through taking the pulse. With modern diagnostic aids today more accurate diagnoses are done to obtain more effective treatment. A beginning is also being made to develop Tibetan medicine and pharmacology.

A research institute of Tibetan medicine has been established in the hospital. Research is under way on the legacy of traditional Tibetan medicine and pharmacology, and doctors are studying the clinical treatment of arthritis, gastric ulcers and other diseases by Tibetan medical lore.

● **Ship to Purify Oil-Contaminated Water**

The China-made ship *Huangdao* has recently begun purifying the oil-contaminated water discharged by tankers and other ships in the Shanghai harbour. With a displacement of 45,000 tons, it is the biggest of its kind in China.

The large Shanghai port is a point of call for many Chinese and foreign ships. After entering the port, all tankers, freighters and passenger steamers discharge their ballasting water and water used to clean the tanks. The *Huangdao* can keep the oil content of the water down to the level stipulated by the government and convert the recovered oil into fuel and lubricants.



The 70-bed Lhasa Hospital of Tibetan Medicine.



LETTERS FROM READERS

Letters Welcomed

I'm very glad that you have started the new column "Letters From Readers" in issue No. 30 of this year. That you've promptly taken this step to meet the needs of the present situation demonstrates in a measure the intelligence and strength of the people of modern China. In the past you only published news reports and articles, but now you have a column in which views may be exchanged with the readers. This is very good indeed. I sincerely hope this column will play its role and facilitate friendly exchanges of views among the people in various parts of the world.

Kazutoshi Matsui
Aichi, Japan

I have started reading *Beijing Review* only since spring this year, but I must say I am thankful to have come across your publication.

It seems to me that your weekly has taken on a new look from issue No. 30, not only because of the appearance of the new column "Letters From Readers," but because of its contents as a whole.

Halter Raphael
Frauenfeld, Suisse

Legs and Walking Stick

A long-time reader of your magazine, I welcome the new letters column, along with solid improvements in *Beijing Review* after many years of having to battle my way through often dull, jargon-laden, heavy-handed material.

In these days when the Western press plays up China's interest in foreign technology in the drive for modernization, reliance by China on her own efforts whenever this can be done tends to get lost.

"Legs and Walking Stick" (*Beijing Review*, July 27), dealing

with doing "as much as possible ourselves" in building the Qianjin ethylene installation in conjunction with foreign firms, is the kind of article needed to help show what is going on. And also to dispel the prevalent notion in many circles that China is sitting around waiting to be modernized if only she can get enough plants, technology and know-how from abroad.

Julian Schuman
San Francisco, U.S.A.

Proportionate Development

The article "Only Proportionate Development Can Ensure High Speed" in issue No. 19 is, I think, very interesting. It deals with "the system of economic accounting" in socialist enterprises which, as the article shows, received varying degrees of attention in the past. Only by adhering to the various economic principles can China highly modernize its national economy and develop it at high speed. We all know that the ordinary Chinese people are eagerly looking forward to modernization, for only thus can their labour conditions and living standard be improved.

Josef Theobald
Saarlouis, W. Germany

I especially like the article on proportionate development. It gives an honest discussion of China's problems in trying to advance too rapidly. This was reported in the American press. It is disappointing to see that China will have to slow down—but I praise the Chinese officials in trying to be practical. Proportionate makes sense. It is good to see you concede that you are learning negative lessons and will do something about it.

Stanley H. Kaplan
New York, U.S.A.

For More News

The column "Events & Trends" is, I think, one of the most important and interesting columns in *Beijing Review*. But we would like to have more news. So we suggest that you shorten each item so that there will be more news in this column.

Political cartoons have great impact. So I suggest that you improve the quality of such cartoons.

Mauricio González Cruz
Romania

Difficult to Understand

I think that *Beijing Review* is too complicated and difficult to understand to the ordinary readers. To get some understanding of your magazine, one has to read it for a long period of time (perhaps several years). Your articles are often not clear or concrete enough. In my opinion, the principle of looking at things in their perspective and seeking truth from facts, as Mao Zedong stressed, should be applied in your writing. This has been a shortcoming in Chinese publications and is still found today.

I hope you will write detailed, authentic, concrete and vivid articles about how the people live, how they have improved their life, what remains to be done, how these changes have come about and what shortcomings still exist today.

Gerhard Müller
Wiesbaden, W. Germany

More Political Articles

What I hope is that *Beijing Review* not only makes changes in form, but will help me understand the views of the Chinese Government and Party on domestic affairs and the concrete practice of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. That is why I think the Special Features are valuable as reference materials. I appreciate the column "Events and Trends," which gives a concise and comprehensive coverage of China's domestic affairs. But as a political and theoretical weekly, I really do not understand why you must have the "Culture and Science" and "On the Home Front" columns. It is preferable instead to publish political articles and articles on social science carried in *Renmin Ribao*, *Hongqi* and *Jiefangjun Bao*.

Hidetoshi Iketani
Tokyo, Japan

Readers have different opinions regarding "Culture & Science" and other columns. We hope to hear more about this from our readers. — Ed.

CORRECTION: On p. 31, issue No. 32, the third sentence under the title "No One Supports Their Barbaric Behaviour" should read: "As an ex-executive member of the New Zealand Committee on Viet Nam..."

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